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9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24. They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu, of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[2] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

[2] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

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624 175 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 651 175 578 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 651 578 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 651 563 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

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624 651 563

taxes are collected from Chinese who graze their herds on the clan territory. When the T'u-ssu sitting in judgment settles a quarrel, he collects a payment. He also expects gifts in cash when he makes his triennial visit to the villages and on the occasion of funerals and marriages.

As opposed to these sources of personal revenue, the T'u-ssu has very few administrative expenses because most administration is carried on through the obligatory services of clan members. The few Chinese secretaries who are employed receive instead of salary the allocation of fields which they are allowed to farm without paying land taxes. Since there are no schools, there is no budget for education, nor is there any expenditure for building roads or bridges or for the upkeep of administrative buildings because all such work is done through the levying of obligatory labor. Monguor carpenters, bricklayers, and other artisans, in addition to unskilled labor, being available through the institution of obligatory labor services (corvée). Since each village has to provide a fixed number of soldiers, with their full equipment, uniforms, weapons, horses, tents, food, etc., there is no budget for military expenses.

THE CHIEF OF THE CLAN

624 618

The description of the composition of the clan that has been given in the preceding pages raises by implication the problem of the origin and evolution of the clan chief.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE CLAN CHIEF INSTITUTION

The clan chief is *not an essential element* of the clan. Vladimirtsov,[12] drawing on the Mongol *Secret History* and other chronicle material, demonstrates that, in periods when the pastoral tribes of Mongolia were not unified in large groups under powerful clans, it was quite common to find clans without a regular hereditary aristocracy, led simply by self-constituted chiefs who were heads of families. By way of comparison, it may be noted that most of the small Tibetan tribes of the Hsining region have no aristocracy of chiefs, but are ruled by a sort of council of the heads of families.

The historical and comparative material makes it clear that in clan societies without hereditary chiefs leaders may be designated temporarily and for specific purposes, such as the organization of community hunting drives, raids on other tribes, or defense against raiders. Leadership in such cases may be influenced by, but not solely determined by, seniority in the clan. It may also be influenced by the personal characteristics of resourcefulness or aggressiveness in the man who becomes a leader, or by the number of his relatives and friends and the degree to which they are respected in the community, and, therefore, it may be said that such leadership simultaneously carries a tinge of usurpation by the

[12] *Op. cit.*, 93.

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624 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler
175 on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the
648 Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 In connection with this recorded historical incident
648 there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to
173 have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for
624 failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5*a*) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in
648 the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained com-
624 pletely at the expense of their own clans. As compensa-
701 tion, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

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651 into the Chinese army. In order to keep up the Monguor military strength, the emperor did not allow 648 subjects of the clan to abandon their T'u-ssu, and the 624 Chinese officials were ordered to help the T'u-ssu in 701 recovering any subjects who had left their territories. The overlord state thus confirmed the clan rule of the Monguors that the subjects of the clan "belonged" to the chief. While in later times Monguors farming land in territory under direct Chinese administration were required to pay the land tax, they were still exempt from the corvée of forced labor.

651 In the administration of the law, relations between 648 Monguors and Chinese were "extraterritorial." When 624 a Chinese accused a Monguor, the summons had to be sent to the T'u-ssu, who alone could order his subject to appear at the Chinese court. Chinese allowed by a T'u-ssu to settle in his territory became his subjects, liable to Monguor land taxes, military service, and corvées. Monguor lawsuits had to be brought before the T'u-ssu and his officials. If a Monguor did not agree with the verdict of the T'u-ssu, however, he was allowed to appeal to the Chinese high court; but this right was more theoretical than practical, because the Chinese official, considering the T'u-ssu as a fellow-official, and also not unmindful of presents at New Year and at the four seasons, regularly confirmed the verdict of the T'u-ssu.

When Chinese officials, representing the overlord state, traveled through the territory of a T'u-ssu, roads and bridges had to be put in repair. Similarly, when Chinese troops passing through the territory of a T'u-ssu had to cross a river, the Monguors were required to provide the necessary rafts and boats.

TAXES UPON T'U-SSU AND THEIR SALARY

Under the Ming dynasty, except for the "autumn tax" on the Li T'u-ssu, which has already been mentioned, no taxes were imposed on a T'u-ssu. In this respect there was a marked difference between the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of many Tibetan and Mongol tribes who were required to bring every year, or once in a term of years, a fixed tribute of horses or other products of their territories. The difference is accounted for by the fact that a tribute-paying chief and his subjects were not, like a T'u-ssu and his clan, considered to be on permanent military service.

Under the Manchu dynasty, however, the *Annals* of Kansu record that twelve out of the seventeen T'u-ssu were required to pay land tax. The five that were exempt were the five most influential and powerful: the Lu (3,245 families); two Ch'i (800 and 700 families); two Li (4,000 and 960 families), and Wang (150 families). It is possible that these T'u-ssu were exempt from the tax either because of services rendered during the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 or simply because they were powerful and the Chinese were afraid to impose a tax on them for fear they would revolt. The tax im-

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posed on a T'u-ssu was imposed on him personally. He passed it on by making levies on his subjects, but in spite of this their tax was lighter than the tax paid by the Chinese.

In his capacity as a Chinese official, the T'u-ssu was entitled to receive an emolument; but for unknown reasons this stipend was extremely irregular. Seven T'u-ssu received none at all, and of the others the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Hsining received the highest emolument, 146.88 ounces of silver. Next to him came the Lu T'u-ssu with 76.6 ounces. Five others received 50 ounces a year, and the remainder only 40 ounces.[24]

TRIPS OF T'U-SSU TO PEKING

The difference between a Monguor T'u-ssu and a tribute-paying chief has been mentioned. Like a T'u-ssu, the tribute-paying chief received a diploma and a seal. Unlike a T'u-ssu, he was required to offer tribute at stated intervals, and the most important privilege enjoyed by him and his people was that of admission to the frontier markets. A Monguor T'u-ssu was not bound to report in person to the capital at stated times, but there were occasions when Monguor T'u-ssu were specially summoned to Peking in order to receive awards for meritorious frontier service. On such occasions, they traveled in state. The Monguors still enjoy recalling the fine show made by these glorious ancestors, even though a levy was made on all the subjects of the T'u-ssu, to provide not only a sum of money for his expenses, but thirty soldiers in new uniforms as his escort and ten servants, five secretaries, and enough horses, well equipped, for the whole retinue, together with provisions for the journey. In addition, the most handsome horses and mules that could be found in the Monguors' country were brought and taken along to be presented to the emperor and high officials. Other products of the country, taken as presents, were musk (for the harem), stag horns in the velvet (a medicine of great repute for old men losing their virility), deer sinews (a famous medicine for rheumatic people), and bear's paws (a renowned dish at official dinners), together with saffron from Tibet.

Before his departure, the T'u-ssu paid a farewell visit to the high Chinese officials of the frontier region, who gave him presents and more money toward the expenses of his journey—hoping of course that in Peking he would praise them and their administration in the right quarters. For the whole of his journey the T'u-ssu traveled at the public expense, having permits that entitled him and his retinue to lodging free of taxes and charges. Although the capital expense of the journey was great, it was in fact remunerative both for the T'u-ssu and his retinue. They all enjoyed it, for they benefited by the ancient tradition of the East that nobody travels without

[24] In view of the irregularity and the fact that some T'u-ssu received no yearly allowance, it is possible that these payments were regarded as grants to favored vassals rather than as regular salaries to officials.—O. L.

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624 178 He gathered several groups of Monguors and founded four Monguor villages, naming them after the villages from which the settlers came. These Monguors still recognize their allegiance to their lords for corvées and other services, but not for land taxes, which they pay to the Buddha.

A colony of Monguors from Shangsukou emigrated to Cholok in Narinkou. They, too, continued to recognize their old lord.

These facts prove that the clan institution of the T'u-ssu was falling asunder by the end of the Manchu dynasty, and also indicate that the Monguors were so prolific that the territory assigned to them by the emperor in 1368 had become too narrow.

TAXES

● 651 The Monguor taxation system bespeaks the nomadic tradition. In former times the importance of a nomad chief was not appraised by the extent of his territory, but by the number of his vassals. The Monguor T'u-ssu still retain this outlook. Their neighbors, the Chinese, impose taxes on the fields, not on the people, but the T'u-ssu impose taxes on the vassals, not on the fields. The vassals, having become farmers, live in villages. The T'u-ssu taxes the village community according to the number and wealth of its families. The heads of families, together with the elders, grade the families in five classes according to their wealth and apportion the taxes among them. Rich people who are traders or have large herds but cultivate little land are more heavily taxed than poor people who cultivate more land. At the lowest level the commoner is taxed without consideration of the source of his income. At this lowest level, the amount of land cultivated necessarily becomes the sole base of taxation, and the nomadic principle of taxing the people is inevitably transformed into the agricultural principle of taxing the land.

It is easy to understand that the distribution of taxes is in many villages the source of troubles and quarrels which the T'u-ssu have to deal with on their triennial visits. Obviously, the system does not fit the framework of the present (1911–1921) economy of the Monguors. If the tax system were to fit the conditions, fields and herds and trade should be subject to differently calculated taxes; but both the Monguors and their T'u-ssu are still dominated by the nomadic tradition, and therefore accept the basic principle that it is the vassal and not the territory that should be taxed.

When the harvest has been reaped and threshed, the servants of the lord go to all the villages, exhorting the villagers to bring their taxes to the mansion of the T'u-ssu immediately. These taxes, levied in kind, constitute the principle income of the lord, who is therefore anxious to have them gathered into his granaries. The emissaries of the T'u-ssu also have their own customs and traditions. They know very well in which village they are entitled by custom to receive a sheep; in which village,

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651 a goat; in which small village a chicken; where they may collect a fixed number of loaves of steamed bread and where they are to be presented with a stack of pancakes cooked in oil, exactly the height of two chopsticks.

The villagers must themselves bring their grain to the mansion, where the granaries occupy a large space. The number of granaries indicates the importance of the T'u-ssu, the number of his subjects, and the extent of the fields they cultivate. The grain is measured and checked at the granary. The T'u-ssu uses a measure bigger than the official measure.[49] The grain is poured out of the sack into the measure so that it forms a cone projecting above the measure. The cone is then scraped level with a stick, and the surplus grain falls to the ground. This surplus, in addition to all grain falling beside the measure when poured from the sacks, belongs to the servitors of the T'u-ssu. This odious practice, always bitterly criticized by the commoners, was adopted from the Chinese. Commoners bringing their land taxes in grain are allowed to stay overnight at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, and are given a meal of noodles as gratuity.

When the Li T'u-ssu mortgaged some fields to the Living Buddha of Erhkulung, his subjects farming these fields were jubilant because the Buddha used the official measure to measure the taxes and did not allow the use of these hateful tricks at the expense of the farmers.

Notwithstanding all these odious practices used by the T'u-ssu, however, the taxes imposed on the subjects were not so great a burden as those imposed by the Chinese administration on the Chinese. This difference was the greatest political asset of the T'u-ssu and the reason why their commoners remained vassals, and did not demand that they be allowed to come under Chinese jurisdiction.

When a T'u-ssu mortgages fields to monasteries or to the Chinese, the taxes of the farmers are made over to the new lord; but the farmers remain the subjects of the T'u-ssu and are still liable to corvées and military service. When a T'u-ssu sells his fields outright for cash, however, he may also free his subjects from the corvée. By doing so, he "loses" these subjects. While the vassals tilling the soil of a T'u-ssu must pay land taxes, Monguors "passing" their fields to other vassals in order to get a high price, take on themselves the obligation to go on paying the taxes on the land. The result of this mortgaging of the indefinite future for the

[49] During the first month of the year the T'u-ssu has to send to the Chinese officials in the nearest important city (Hsining or Nienpei) the grain-measures, weights, and scales used in the territory under his jurisdiction to be verified for honesty by comparison with the official weights and measures. One of the responsibilities of the T'u-ssu is to see that these standards are maintained by the shopkeepers and traders in his territory. The surveillance of these matters is a source of income for the T'u-ssu's underlings. The T'u-ssu uses the official measure when selling his stored grain; but in spite of his zeal for the observation of proper standards by his subjects, he uses his private—and larger—measure when weighing in the grain collected from them as taxes.

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651 sake of the fleeting present is the kind of tax called "taxes without fatherhood." Comparable to this kind of transaction is the custom according to which, when a widow remarries, her new husband sometimes accepts the obligation to pay the taxes on the fields cultivated by her deceased husband: thus, though he does not have to pay a bride-price, he does have to pay, year after year, taxes on land which still belongs to and is still cultivated by the family of his wife's late husband.

CORVÉES

The principle of the corvée, to which the Monguors are still liable, is founded upon the vassalage under which the nomads were anciently bound to the "service" of their chief. When they neither tilled the soil nor paid land taxes, they were none the less real vassals. It is plain that farming and land taxes are innovations in the Monguor economy, and do not in themselves determine vassalage, since a Monguor who does not farm is just as much a vassal as one who farms. This is proved by the fact, cited above, that Monguors who farm fields mortgaged by their chiefs to a monastery, and pay their land taxes to the monastery, are still vassals of the T'u-ssu and liable to corvée. Monguors who farm land in Chinese territory and pay their land tax to the Chinese administration may also still remain liable for corvée to the T'u-ssu, instead of to the Chinese authorities.

A T'u-ssu may call upon those of his subjects who are commoners for the repair and upkeep of his mansion, which is a real castle. In former times this upkeep was one of the important obligatory services or corvées. The mansion was built on the pattern of a Chinese *yamen* or combined official residence and government office. It was surrounded by thick, high walls with towers at the four corners, and had a moat outside the wall. The space within the walls was divided into large courtyards containing administrative offices, a prison, an armory for weapons, granaries, stables, and flour mills in addition to a temple of the guardian deity of the clan, the hall of the ancestors, and a garden. Most of the buildings had mud walls and thatched roofs, requiring endless repairs, especially after heavy rain. There was also a long, narrow passage parallel to one of the outer walls which was originally a target range for archers, later used for shooting with rifles. There are only three such mansions still standing—those of the Lu T'u-ssu of Liench'eng, the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei, and of the T'a-wu Li T'u-ssu of Sanch'uan. The others were all burned and destroyed in the long history of frontier inroads by Mongols and Tibetans and above all in the succession of terrible Muslim rebellions. The new mansions that were built to replace those destroyed are on a much more modest scale.

For the upkeep of the mansion, the planting of trees, repair of roads and bridges, and the digging of canals each Monguor is called up in rotation for a fixed number of days. He must bring his own tools, and his food is provided by his village. For special occasions, such

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651 as the ceremony of the investiture which has already been mentioned, extra services are required for white-washing, work in the kitchen, and so forth. Obligatory services and gifts in kind are also required when the son or daughter of a T'u-ssu is married. Each village must then provide a fixed number of sheep, pigs, and cattle and also a contribution of 50,000 copper coins. These celebrations last for three days, with dinners that may be attended by as many as three or four hundred guests, at which all the nobles and important commoners must be on duty.

Among the Monguors as among the Chinese a funeral is a festival. The funeral of a T'u-ssu, of one or his wives, or of a married son is a great occasion. An official invitation is sent to each village, and on the invitation is listed the required offering of gifts in kind and cash. For the funeral of the T'u-ssu, of one of his wives, or of his eldest son, 50,000 copper coins are solicited. Nobles and the important commoners who are invited to take part in the procession as mourners must be dressed, in the Chinese style, in a long white gown. Each village must provide a number of gowns, and the women of the village must buy the white cotton cloth and sew the gowns. Invitations are sent to Chinese officials, to T'u-ssu, and to important people, and Monguor commoners have to forward these messages as a corvée service. Dinners are prepared for as many as a thousand persons. The funeral procession passes through the village or town with banners and streamers. The lamas of the monasteries in the clan territory are required to take part in the funeral, chanting prayers, and must be fed for several days. The ceremonies may last for a week, and the entertainment may require the slaughtering of ten or more oxen, a hundred sheep, and fifty hogs.

In preparation for such a funeral, all the old graves in the cemetery must be put in good condition; and after the burial of a T'u-ssu a guard must be kept over the cemetery, day and night, for a whole year. Each village in rotation provides a guard for ten days. In mourning for a T'u-ssu, his officials remove from their hats for a full year the button, of different material and colors according to rank, which is the token of their office.

MILITARY SERVICE

701 Traditionally, the most important duty of the Monguors was military service. Military organization followed the conventional Mongol decimal structure, the smallest unit consisting of ten men. The most important officers were "commanders of one hundred" and "commanders of a thousand." Each T'u-ssu stood at the head of his own forces. Originally, the officers were always nobles. In later times, this tradition decayed and the T'u-ssu became accustomed to selling the office of "commander of a thousand" to the highest bidder, noble or commoner. The names of the commanders had to be submitted to the military commander of Hsining. It is hardly surprising therefore that during the great

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701 Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875 the "commanders of a thousand" vanished and the "commanders of one hundred," who had not purchased their rank, turned out to be the real leaders.

Each village knows the number of men that it must provide for military service. In some villages the farmers agree among themselves, designating each family that is to provide a soldier when there is a call for service. Another method is for the village to hire young men whenever there is a call for troops from the T'u-ssu. In some villages the custom is to set aside fields, known as "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers," the income from which is used to meet the military obligations of the village. These fields are made over, as their private property, to families which agree to provide soldiers. Such fields are free of taxes, and the families owning them have the right to "pass" them to other families, in which case the new owners assume the obligation attached to the fields. Military equipment in the form of weapons, uniforms, kettles, tents, and horses "passes" together with the fields. Because a family owning such fields is exempt from taxes, it receives no indemnity if a son of the family is killed on military service; on the contrary, it must provide another man to take the place of the one killed. In villages that do not follow this system, the families of soldiers killed in action must be indemnified. In such villages, every time that men are called up for active service the indemnity to be provided in case of death is debated in long and earnest village meetings.

In one case known to me, all ten soldiers of the village of Lichiachai were killed in the great Muslim rebellion of 1868–1875. After this disaster no one dared to take over possession of the "fields for the expenses of horses and soldiers" and assume the responsibility of military service. In consequence, it became the custom in this village for the whole community to farm these fields, without taxes, the income providing a fund from which the village hired and equipped its contingent of ten soldiers.

701 Another typical case is that of Yangch'üan, the village
●651 in which the sixth House of the Li clan collects its land taxes. In 1876, after the Muslim rebellion there were no more people in the village. The T'u-ssu and the sixth House were eager to get farmers who would pay the taxes and provide the squad of ten soldiers that constituted the obligations of this village. A group of Chinese were willing to enroll into the clan, farm the land and pay the taxes, but refused to assume the burden of equipping ten soldiers. Finally the sixth House agreed to assume the military burden, if the farmers would agree to provide the fodder of ten horses, amounting to two *tan* of peas. After a few years the sixth House started asking for four *tan* of peas. The farmers complained to the T'u-ssu and the rate was fixed at three *tan*. In 1882, however, pressure was put on the farmers to provide in addition to the fodder for them the

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701 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the
651 sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[50] The Monguor troops, except for those hired
705 by their own villages, received no pay, but when they
175 were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

[50] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yüeh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

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and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest and back. On these circles were written three Chinese characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier was expected to report for duty with an old musket and a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in his territory. The Monguors were exempted from these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City"). These occasions were celebrated with horse races and wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended by an enormous crowd. The troops collected taxes from merchants attending this market.

Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards, and official messengers. They also maintained order among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

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624 of the elders of their village, to escort the T'u-ssu. They bring with them the required number of horses, finely equipped and well broken to the saddle, to be ridden by the T'u-ssu's retinue of ten or more officials and servants. The finest courtyard in the village is prepared for the sojourn of the T'u-ssu, who like a medieval seigneur enjoys the *droit de gite* at each stopping place. The procession is headed by a soldier who carries, strapped diagonally across his back, a rolled-up painting on yellow cotton cloth of the guardian deity of the clan. This picture is to be venerated at each stopping place.

624 Outside the village the T'u-ssu is greeted by all the
●651 inhabitants, dressed in their best clothes and kneeling and bowing. Although the occasion costs them a great deal of money, their faces are alight with joy and exaltation, because receiving their feudal lord is traditionally a joyful festival.

One of the elders presents to the T'u-ssu a *katag* or ceremonial scarf, laying it across his outstretched hands, and another elder offers him two bottles of wine. A sheep is then led before the T'u-ssu, its horns decorated with red paper and a piece of red cotton cloth strapped on its back. At the same time he is presented with a gift of 30,000 copper coins on a dish. This offering is called the "gift of joyous entrance into the village." 527 In former days, the sheep was slaughtered, prepared
264 for the dinner in the evening, and served before the guests as a whole carcass, on an enormous platter. This is the traditional dish for important guests. At the same time, the most delicate piece, the fat tail, together with 1,000 copper coins, is presented to the T'u-ssu on a special plate. In recent times the T'u-ssu sometimes accepts the sheep and orders it to be brought to his palace, together with the spices required for cooking it properly. This amounts to a double charge on the village, because another sheep must be slaughtered for the evening dinner.

624 When the T'u-ssu and his retinue reach the courtyard
796 where the T'u-ssu is to stay, the picture of the guardian deity of the clan is displayed in the front room. An oil lamp is lighted and incense is burned before it as long as the T'u-ssu's visit lasts. The community as a group venerate the guardian deity, prostrating themselves; in the front row are the village elders, with sticks of incense in their joined hands. This custom of carrying the guardian deity on the triennial tour of the feudal lord of the clan, giving all the village communities an opportunity to worship it, seems to correspond with the custom of honoring the "spirits of the clan" among the Manchus, as described by Shirokogoroff.[51]

177 At present the guardian deities of all the Monguor
792 clans have been taken over by Lamaism. Formerly one or two lamas served as house chaplains at the mansion of the T'u-ssu, praying and burning incense every day at the temple of the guardian deity. Since the destruc-

[51] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Shanghai, North China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 1924.

624 lamas, the "passing" of land to people who are not members of the clan, etc.

624 The number of men in the village liable to military
701 service is checked, and the T'u-ssu carries out a military inspection. The troops turn out with their muskets and swords and horses. Tents, cooking kettles, pack animals and pack saddles, and sacks for carrying the flour ration are all inspected. The inspection concludes with a sham attack by the Monguor cavalry at full gallop, the soldiers firing their guns, drawing their swords, and howling and shouting.

624 The next important procedure is ratification by the
692 T'u-ssu of all the settlements made by the village elders in patching up quarrels during the preceding three years. The custom is that when such a settlement is made, each person involved must pay the elders 2.000 copper coins, and these accumulated sums must be offered to the T'u-ssu. If there are legal suits, as distinguished from these settlements, the T'u-ssu presides over them on the fourth day. To deal with such suits, he is accompanied throughout his journey by the officials of his court of justice and by lictors carrying chains, handcuffs, and batons, and wearing their appropriate costumes.

624 The custom is that justice be rendered on the threshing
693 floor of the village in the open air. The lord and his
681 secretaries sit at tables. At the left stand two lictors dressed in red cotton and wearing high red harlequin hats, and with batons in their hands. At the right stand two lictors dressed in black. Chains, handcuffs, and batons are laid on the table, and plaintiffs and defendants kneel in front. The punishments inflicted include hanging by the wrists or thumbs, and flogging up to one hundred and even five hundred lashes. The offender is stripped and pegged out face downward, arms and legs spreadeagled. The lictors, armed with short whips or rods, strike the tender inner side of the thighs. Women are flogged on the bare back. The justice meted out is not always as brutal as it appears to be, because the retinue of the T'u-ssu is always venal. They depend on bribery for their income. Although most T'u-ssu do not approve of the corruption indulged in by many of their minor officials, they cannot always prevent it. Suits brought by the Monguors before the T'u-ssu are the delight of his retinue. It is often the crying injustices caused by the venality and peculation of the petty officials that cause Monguors to leave the clan territory and abandon their lord.

624 The expenses of legal suits, and of the sojourn of the
● 651 T'u-ssu with his retinue for that day, are paid by the litigants, but all other expenses of the official three-day
691 visit are defrayed by the people of the village. At the end of the visit, the elders and troops of the next village come to escort the T'u-ssu on the next stage of his tour.

624 It may be noted that this triennial tour of the T'u-ssu, accompanied by his court of justice, seems to suggest that it is the T'u-ssu as an individual and not his mansion

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624 574 cloth. On the third day he is invited by the members of the next House.

NOBLES EXEMPTED FROM TAXES, CORVÉES, MILITARY SERVICE

565 651 There are important differences between commoners and nobles in respect to taxes, military duty, and obligatory services. The way in which the nobles as kinsmen by blood of the T'u-ssu are divided into Houses according to seniority of descent from the founding ancestor, and are allocated for their personal revenue the tax income from certain villages, has already been described. The logical counterpart of the fact that the taxes of commoners can be allocated to nobles is the immunity of the nobles themselves from all taxes, obligatory services, and special contributions to the investiture of a T'u-ssu or the expenses of marriages and funerals in his mansion. The T'u-ssu and his noble kinsmen, as members of the same "bone," are thus clearly set apart as the collective "owners" of the commoners who form the larger, "assimilated" clan. Following the same general principle, when commoners bring new fields under cultivation they must pay to the T'u-ssu both a capital price for the acquisition of the land and a tax for the registration of the land as their private property, while nobles may bring new land under cultivation without any payment of any kind, thus demonstrating that they, collectively with the T'u-ssu, are the owners of the territory.

565 651 769 Nobles are, however, by the same logic, subject to contributions for the upkeep of the ancestral temple in the mansion of the T'u-ssu. All nobles of the clan, and even their wives and children, are assessed a levy of 50 copper coins every year for the expenses of the lama chaplain and the cost of oil, paper, and incense. The Monguors say that in former times the nobles were also responsible for the upkeep of the old common cemetery, and that they only later built private cemeteries, but that at present they pass on to the commoners the cost of the upkeep of these cemeteries.

565 651 The custom in regard to corvées is parallel to that regulating the payment of taxes. Though nobles may inherit the right to collect taxes from certain villages, they do not have the right to demand obligatory services; but conversely they themselves are not subject to such services. Because of this, nobles must either till their own fields and watch their own cattle, or hire people to do this work for them. If the village in which they live decides to dig an irrigation canal as a communal project, they do not have to contribute labor but must pay their share of the expenses. The only extraordinary expenses and services that can be demanded of the nobles come under the head of honorable obligations, such as taking part in the entertainment of guests during festivities, contributions to dinners, participation in the veneration of the ancestors and in clan meetings, and serving as representatives of the T'u-ssu at dinners given

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623 651 The most important and delicate topic of discussion at meetings is always the subject of taxes. These taxes are decreed by the T'u-ssu as a lump sum imposed on the entire village. The villagers have then to group themselves by wealth in five classes and to pay more or less taxes according to this classification. The classification of families is a very difficult and delicate problem. In the discussion everybody asserts that he is, and proves himself to be, the poorest man in the village, deserving to be put in the lowest classification. The tax imposed on the village is compared with the taxes on other villages, and the chief of the village is criticized for not having defended the interests of his village. These meetings also fix the date on which the taxes have to be ready either to be carried by the villagers in a group to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, or to be ready for the nobles who come to collect them. Illegal and oppressive exactions by the officials of the T'u-ssu and difficulties with the collecting nobles are discussed, and entrusted to the chief of the village for redress or for conciliation with the T'u-ssu.

623 312 Another important topic is the digging or repairing of irrigation canals. The number of digging days required from each family is adjusted to the amount of land each family cultivates. Quarrels are patched up with families accused of having kept the water from the canal turned into their fields for longer than the allotted time. The proper time is calculated by the time taken to burn a certain number of incense sticks for the irrigation of a determined acreage of fields.

623 651 794 At these meetings the contributions of every family are fixed for the expenses of keeping the village temple in repair and payments to the shamans who perform the two important rites of spring and of protection against storms and hail, and of thanksgiving for the harvest.[4] An apportionment is also made of the liability of members for all kinds of corvées, or obligatory services, religious as well as administrative. The groups of youngsters must be ready day and night to stay in and even sleep in the temple in order to avert the danger of hail and storms in summer. Duties must be assigned also for taking care of the sacred animal of the village, and for preparing the performance of all kinds of religious rites carried out on behalf of the village. Villagers must also be designated for all kinds of corvée service at the mansion of the T'u-ssu.

622 627 The officials must also be prepared to deal with all kinds of problems in the private lives of the villagers (except family vengeance feuds). If a villager has got himself into difficulties or is burdened with troubles not of his own making he goes to the chief of the village, presents to him a scarf of felicity and a bottle of wine, and invites him to iron out the problem. The chief

[4] The religious aspects of Monguor life will be discussed in a second volume, now being prepared for publication.

Mongolia, some of whom are going to study in the great monasteries of Tibet but many of whom are going on pilgrimage, partly to visit celebrated monasteries and partly just for the fun of traveling and seeing the world. Each traveler with such a caravan must take care of his own food and expenses.

A large number of young Monguors, especially those who can speak Tibetan, take jobs with these caravans. A man who is thus working with a caravan for hire can also, by ancient custom, take with him trade goods for his own private speculation. The Monguors take the big, handsome mules and fast horses bred in their own country, and things like saddle girths woven with white wool, made in the Monguor country and known to sell readily in Tibet. The Monguor mules are especially esteemed in Tibet, and consequently Monguors who have mules or horses to sell will entrust them to a young man working with one of the trading caravans, sharing with him the profit of the venture.

The big caravan of the Kuopa Tibetans leaves Hsining during the fourth moon of the lunar calendar and returns from Lhasa in the second or third moon of the following year. In 1914, when traveling near the great lake of Kukunor, I met the vanguard of this caravan on its way to Lhasa. The vanguard carried two flags. When it was time to pitch camp for the night, the men showed their veteran skill by the way in which, under the orders of their chief, they staked out the site of the camp. An hour later the main caravan arrived in nine groups of fifty yaks, each of which was separated from the preceding group by a small distance. On each side of the caravan rode Monguors and Tibetans armed with rifles and long swords. Each of the nine groups was accompanied by travelers, some of whom were riding while others walked and led their horses and mules. Each group went straight to the spot that had been staked and roped off for it, unloaded its animals, and pitched a small tent. Some of the men then went out with the animals to pasture near the camp, while the others prepared food. In the early morning the caravan left again, in perfect order. Camp is made in the afternoon and broken in the morning with amazing skill and orderliness; throughout the journey, the pattern of the camp is maintained, so that each group knows exactly where it belongs.

Caravans carrying valuable loads never venture to travel in Tibet without a strong armed guard, for fear of being robbed by the wilder Tibetan tribes, such as the Ngoloks. According to foreign explorers and travelers these large and well defended caravans are seldom attacked, but according to Monguors who have traveled with the caravans the safety of a caravan really depends on the custom of "sworn brotherhood." In each territory through which the caravan is to travel, the chief of the caravan has a sworn brother who is one of the local chiefs. As the caravan approaches each new tribal territory, two men are sent ahead with valuable

439 presents for this sworn brother, who then notifies his tribe not to molest the caravan. The traditional presents 484 consist of bolts of satin and silk, or a load o cotton textiles or sugar or Chinese vermicelli. The next day, 608 when the caravan chief and his local sworn brother meet, the caravan chief asks politely whether he can help his 651 brother by carrying some things for him on the way back. The local sworn brother just as politely names some purchases that he would like made for him in Hsining or Lhasa, for which he offers to pay. The two understand each other's meaning perfectly, and the following year the caravan leader will bring as presents the goods that have been indicated. Thus in fact the caravan takes its way through each territory by a form of taxation in the guise of presents.[8]

431 On the way back from Tibet the Monguors bring with 484 them *p'ulu*, a kind of woolen serge woven in Tibet in narrow bands, either dyed red or purple, or white with crosses of red or blue dyed in the fabric by the "tie and dye" method. This material, which sheds water, is greatly valued by both Tibetans and Monguors. The Monguors also bring back from Tibet incense, dates, and saffron, which they sell to Chinese, the saffron being used more for medicine than as a condiment. At the market in the frontier town of Dankar I once bought some dishes that had just been brought in from Lhasa with the Kuopa caravan. These dishes bore the trademark of "Regout, Maestricht, Holland" and had traveled from Europe to Calcutta, from Calcutta to Lhasa, and from Lhasa, loaded on yaks, to the frontier of China.

439 The young Monguors who have once worked with 484 the caravan seem to catch the fever of travel and want to go back to Tibet again and again. The older people, with the wisdom of experience, explain the mystery. 583 The reason is, they say, the ease—and variety—of getting temporarily married in Tibet. The traveler who wants to strike up a temporary relationship with a woman in Tibet shaves his head just before his caravan arrives at its destination. This makes him look like a lama, and a Tibetan girl will readily "marry" him, assuming that he has no permanent obligations to a wife at home. If he were to wear a "pig-tail," the girl might be a little more hesitant, fearing that the "marriage" would last only until he wanted to go home. When he does want to leave such a temporary wife, however, the rascally traveler simply grows his "pig-tail" again on the next stage of his journey. In this way, the enterprising caravan man can sample the joys of marriage in a number of places.

DWELLINGS

342 The construction and disposition of the houses of the Monguors having been described in Chapter IV, it

[8] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, as cited, 54, describes this form of the "sworn brother" relationship as a "guest-host" relationship, and gives valuable details on both Tibetan and Muslim caravan trade.—O. L. [P. 116a]

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286 wool and spinning them with the aid of a clay spindle. Grown men spin while they are walking and boys while they are watching the herds at pasture.

The weaver is a professional who is invited to visit a household that has laid by a supply of yarn. He loads the pieces of his portable loom on a donkey, and works for a daily wage. He also makes sacks of goat hair. Sometimes he works in his own home, with yarn that is brought to him. For this kind of work, the yarn is weighed and the price is fixed according to the amount of yarn that is brought by the customer and the measurement of the cloth to be delivered. Since the yarns are spun by children and adults, at all times of the day, and are very irregular, the fabric produced from them is used to make working gowns and jackets for men and women and is extremely coarse and primitive. It sheds water well, since the wool has not been washed in hot water and the yarn retains its natural fat.

287 Felt making is also the work of professionals. For this a kind of screen is used, made of reeds. The screen is laid on the ground and the loose wool is piled on it. Each layer of wool is wetted down with hot water. The screen is then rolled up with the wool, and this bundle is then rolled back and forth for a long time in order to mat the fibers together. The felt is then dried in the sun and is ready for use. The same artisan makes, from fine selected wool, the round felt hats that the Monguors wear. When the round piece of felt has been made and is still wet, it is stretched over a mold to form the hat.

281 The preparation of the furs used by the Monguors is a household industry. The sheep and goat skins are washed, the fat is scraped off, and the skins are dried. They are then steeped in an earthenware jar containing a mixture of salt, flour, and the yeast that is used for fermenting wine, in the proportions of one handful of salt, one pound of flour, and one brick of yeast for each skin. The steeping lasts for fourteen days in the summer or twenty-one days in winter. When the steeping has been completed, the skins are washed in the river, dried in the shade, and are then ready for use. Coats made of such skins are cut and sewn by a professional artisan at the home of the Monguor customer.

326 Silversmiths make earrings, bracelets, finger rings, and the plates, cups, and pins that are used for the headdresses. They also make the sheaths that hold knife and chopsticks. The work done by Monguor silversmiths can always be distinguished from that done by Chinese, but as their work is done for a small population, it is bound to remain on a very small scale.

467 In spite of the fact that the Monguors, as subjects of their own T'u-ssu, are exempt in general from Chinese 651 demands for corvée labor, in recent years carpenters and stonecutters who make millstones have been affected by these demands. The Chinese officials make their demands on the professional guilds; the individual worker is not paid for such work, and his guild must pay him when he has been summoned for unpaid official work.

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FIG. 8. Spinning handicraft. Two girls of Monguor origin, whose parents had attached themselves to a group of Tibetans enrolled as subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu. They wear the Tibetan clothes typical of the Huari region north of Hsining. The elder girl is spinning thread, which passes over a hook at the end of the stick thrust into her collar at the back of the neck. She keeps a bundle of wool in the bosom of her gown and from it twists the yarn which is rolled on to the spindle which she holds in her left hand. The thread then passes over the hook of the stick, to stretch and straighten it. The younger sister is fluffing a bundle of wool to prepare it for her elder sister.

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Monguor artisans engaged in such work must perforce join the Chinese guilds when they are summoned to work on official buildings.

The shamans are also affected by the need for association with a guild. Whenever there is an eclipse of the sun or moon the shamans are likely to be summoned to the nearest Chinese town to help, by their incantations, with the "liberation" of the sun or moon. In this they are associated with the Chinese Taoist priests. I knew of one case in which there was a quarrel between the shamans of two Monguor villages. They brought their disagreement before the chief of the religious corporation, a Taoist priest, who settled the matter.

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The question of the origin of specialized artisan crafts is an interesting problem. In the case of the Monguors, most work is done in the household and there is little need for specialized skills. When there is such a need, moreover, most people cannot afford to hire a skilled craftsman to come from a Chinese town. These con-

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by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there was no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

At the end of this study of the origin and organization of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

[255 cont.]
792 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit.
175 The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luń possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luń was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-mań-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguăn Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-mań-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luń received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

792 [256] Today the monastery is under the county govern-
• [657] ment of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands, forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguăn Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

twist their rosaries on their wrists, even in the city, or to turn a small prayer wheel all day. While no one understands the meaning of the prayer formula, the Monguor saying his Om Mani intends it as adoration to Buddha. 781 768

Religion is a family as well as an individual matter. The chief of the family is its religious head and its representative. He worships "Heaven and all the spirits" on the roof of the home or in its courtyard. It is his duty to honor the protector-deity of the family. Each family honors the image of its family protector-deity. At the time of the division of a family inheritance, it is the privilege and duty of the eldest son to continue worshipping the old family deity honored by his ancestors. The chief of the family is its representative at the performance of public rites. Attended by his family, he performs the rite of opening the fields in the spring to start farming; he gives orders for the worship of the various kind of spirits honored by the family—"the spirit of the hearth," "the spirit of the stables," etc.—and sets the example by praying the Om Mani and fingering his prayer beads. 794 782

The compulsory social aspect of the religious life of the Monguors is evidenced by the fact that the chief of the village and its elders administer both the official and religious life of the people in it. Even as they apportion land taxes among the villagers, according to wealth and productivity, so do they assess families a fixed sum for religious services. They impose corvées on the villagers for municipal functions as well as for such religious functions as protection against hailstorms or the sacred animal of the village. In the same manner, heads of families are summoned to participate in rites at the temple or on the top of the sacred mountain. The time of religious rites is fixed by the village chief. He performs the community thanksgiving rite just as the family chief does in his own circle. 794 622 [65]

The village chief is not the only organizer of religious life in the village. The chief of the clan is its promoter. It is he who offers sacrifice at the clan's ancestor rite. On his triennial visit, the clan chief brings the image of the protector-deity of the clan, so that each village may fulfill its duty of honoring it. He makes inquiry about public worship in the village and the morality of his subjects. [64]

Religious activities are part of the family and social life of the Monguor society. Their social organization is woven into a religious environment. The chiefs of families, villages, and clans are its promoters. All clansmen are obliged to participate in the public rites.

The intensiveness of the religious life of the Monguors is further demonstrated by the fact that they are not only known as practicing Lamaists, but also as fervent adherents of shamanism, and practicers of many rites which do not seem to belong to either Lamaism or shamanism, being performed by neither lamas nor 771 754 756

[p. 6(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord as his apprentice, and that a testament should be written and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families)

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhyana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, their families being exempted from land taxes because they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

[p. 20(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh-ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kumbum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame" barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if he could bring those who had revolted to submission. He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as described in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received wide domains so that it was able to build the two large branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, harbored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the *Annals* of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that "... in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss of these enormous revenues impoverished the monasteries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner received them; but it was customary that the government receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants,

[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.
[5] *Ibid.*, 143.
[6] *Ibid.*, 11.
[7] *Ibid.*, 143.
[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1-7, 1948.

[p.44(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

but from the landowner who, in case the tenant disappeared or became insolvent, was responsible for the tax. In this way the lamas who were landowners had to collect the official taxes from their tenants, and accompany the endless caravans of their tenants' donkeys carrying grain to the official granaries. Before the journey to the granary started, however, each tenant had to measure the grain in the presence of the lamas and with the measure supplied by the lamas, the capacity of which was greater than the official one; this enabled the lamas to set aside a valuable surplus over the vast amount of official taxes.

The properties of the lamaseries, consisting of extensive territories, contain a large part of waste and untilled land on which no taxes are imposed. The industrious intendants developed these properties by means of irrigation canals, and called in new farmers to till the new fields. The legal amount of taxes, however, has always remained the same as the initial amount, because the intendants, by means of collusion and bribery, easily succeed in gaining over the tax collectors. In this way the revenues of the intendancies are greatly increased, and they still receive surreptitiously a very large revenue. Moreover, they are able to store the surplus, which they can grind or sell when prices are highest.

HERDS

Sheep, cows, and horses constitute, for many intendancies, a source of revenue. Large herds are grazed in Kukunor or Mongolia where the pastures are larger, smaller herds in the country for local use. Mongol princes and Tibetan chiefs of tribes are always ready to help the monasteries. A contract is made with herdsmen by which the first calves, colts, and lambs belong to the owner, the second-born to the herdsman, and so on. Every three years a lama inspector of the intendancy examines the accounts of the herdsmen and settles with them the number of animals to be sold, and the herdsmen show the skins of the animals which died during the three-year period. If they cannot produce the skins of the dead animals it is assumed that they sold the animals and they must pay the owner of the herds.

OIL AND GRAIN MILLS

These mills are a large source of revenue. The monastery proper of Erh-ku-lung is owner of twenty-four oil and grain mills; the T'u-kuan himself has eighteen, Chang-chia nine. The mills are leased by Monguors or Chinese. The rent of oil mills is 300 pounds of oil for a season's use, besides which it must press the oil belonging to the monastery. The grain miller must grind the grain of the intendancy and at the New Year season give a pig weighing 120 pounds. Most of the oil which is not consumed in the kitchen in the preparation of food, or in the lamps in the temples and homes, is sent by raft to Lan-chou, the capital of the province.

[p.44 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha.

792 [438] 434 651

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests—Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue.

792 434 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has been recorded. For many years it was a source of large revenue, which finally caused its ruin.

792 434 [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma?

505 175

For many years during the period of my stay, the young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started

792 334

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man. 792 434

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea. 792 434 434 443

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable. [437]

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products. 792 434 [65]

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest. 792 434 426

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

[p. 46 (A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

SUBJECTS OF THE LAMASERIES

This matter fits into the frame of the material administration of the monasteries. One of the most important duties of the intendants is the administration of the subjects of the monastery, of the community of the lamas, or of the colleges. 792

After the revolt of 1723, when the lamas had compelled their subjects to rebel together with them, all their subjects were withdrawn from them and made subjects of the Chinese officials. The taxes, formerly imposed by the monasteries on their properties for their own benefit, were imposed by the Chinese administration for the benefit of the empire and collected by the Chinese officials, and, because all Chinese subjects were liable to corvées, the newly acquired subjects were made liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The subjects of the monasteries became, at the same time, liable to the Chinese courts of justice, and the old right of the monasteries to judge their subjects was abolished. All the ties which bound the subjects to the monasteries vanished and the possibility of a new revolt stirred up by the monasteries was eliminated. The extensive properties of the monasteries were not confiscated, however, so the people who tilled their fields were still obliged to pay rental in return for the use of the fields, in the same way that rents were paid to other proprietors. This was the status which was decreed after 1723 and which still prevailed in 1910–1920. 792 651

KINDS OF SUBJECTS

The monasteries in Huang-chung, before 1723, seem to have possessed two kinds of subjects: the tillers of their fields and some Tibetan tribes possessing their own territory, which for an unknown reason had become their tributaries. This latter category, according to the regulations of 1723, was entirely set free from all obligations toward the monasteries. 792

The origin of the status of the first category of subjects of the lamaseries, the tillers of the soil, is better known, because in the *Annals* of Hsining ch. 15, pp. 13*a* and 13*b*, the author complains that before 1723 a great many families of barbarians had gone over to the lamaseries, leaving their own chiefs in order to become their subjects, and that accordingly the influence and wealth of the lamaseries had greatly increased.

Today, among the subjects of the lamaseries, the Monguor families are the most numerous; then follow Tibetan and a few Chinese families. This fact seems to suggest that, of old, the Monguors constituted the bulk of the subjects of the lamaseries.

In Part I of this study (p. 60) it was explained that the subjects of the T'u-ssu could never abandon their clan chief, and that, because the T'u-ssu were the wardens of the marches and had soldiers, the Chinese officials had to prevent their subjects from abandoning them. Consequently a subject of a T'u-ssu, in order 622

[p. 47(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Service for Prayers and Alms Collections:

A strict condition of service continues which compels the farmers of the monastery to invite the lamas of the intendancy, whose fields they till, to perform both public religious rites in the village, and private services in individual families. Lamas of one intendancy or monastery are not allowed to perform these rites among subjects of another intendancy. In the same way, when lamas are touring for alms among the subjects of their own intendancy, lamas of other monasteries are not allowed to tour. 792 571

The intendancies urge the observance of this service even by former tributaries, but it does not always work. The Tibetan tribe of Sumdoo, former tributary of the community of lamas of Erh-ku-lung, accused the intendancy, in 1918, of trying to occupy a part of its territory. The Chinese court, however, recognized the ownership of the debatable ground by the tribe. Sumdoo, having a grudge against the intendancy, invited the intendancy of Seerkok to perform a tribal religious rite. The day preceding the appointed day, a group of furious lamas from Erh-ku-lung, intending to assert their prerogative to conduct the service, arrived and started with the prayers. All the ladies of the tribe, engaged in preparing the food for the three-day solemnity, arrived ranting, panting, and cursing the lamas with feminine fury, and threw their boots at the heads of the bewildered lamas. The lamas, powerless against the infuriated women, returned to their intendancy. 792 571 79 578

The next day, when the solemnities had already been started by the lamas of Seerkok, the intendant of Erh-ku-lung arrived with an imposing retinue to assert his rights. All the men of the tribe vanished, entrusting the emergency to the ladies, who arrived with the same threatening appearance of the former day, and the intendant and his retinue understood that the relations between the intendancy and Sumdoo were sundered forever. This incident illustrates the psychology of the lamas in trying by all means to retain their old rights, even among tributaries with whom all legal connections have been cut off.

Repair of the Lamasery:

The chiefs of the villages inhabited by the subjects of the intendancies are ordered by their respective intendancy to send a fixed number of men to repair the buildings belonging to the intendancy, to chop wood, grind wheat, thresh the harvest, sweep snow, and build roads or bridges. The subjects are still willing to comply with these corvées. 792 466

Travel of the Chief of the Lamasery:

When the supreme chief of the lamasery makes a long journey, the chiefs of the intendancies order the chiefs of the villages to send a couple of horsemen each 792 484 651

[p.48(A)]

to make up his retinue, and it even happens that a couple of men are asked for from former tributaries. The subjects are thus liable to the corvées of the monastery and at the same time to Chinese official corvées.

Administration of Justice

All the subjects of the monasteries are liable to the Chinese courts of justice. It would seem logical to have abolished all the old courts of justice existing at the monasteries, but all intendants still dispense justice to their subjects, expose at the gate of their intendancy the instruments of torture, and have their own jails. The intendants of Erh-ku-lung, Kumbum and Seerkok are even recognized officially by the Amban as ch'ien-hu, i.e., civil officials having the right to judge subjects.

In 1916 the minor Living Buddha of the monastery of Dia-ik, fired by ambition and knowing my good relations with the Amban, importuned me for weeks to have me recommend him for the office of ch'ien-hu. He became ch'ien-hu not only of his subjects, but of the three former tributary Tibetan tribes depending on his previous incarnations. In 1917, with an air of exulting pride, he broke the news to me of having obtained in Peking the title of Hutukhtu. It is hard for a western mind to unravel these administrative mysteries.

The subjects enjoy the right of bringing suit at the Chinese courts, but often they do not do so for fear of retaliation by the intendancies, which they are unable to match. However, since the Republic, more and more cases have been initiated by subjects who, victims of crying injustices, have plucked up their courage to challenge their intendants, because their minds were not insulated from the modern principles taught by teachers and officials. Nothwithstanding the change in the social psychology of the subjects, the intendants, the builders of big fortunes, continue to plant in the hearts of their subjects the seeds of aversion and hatred against themselves. Many of them collect the rent from their subjects with measures greater than the legal one, compelling them to fill them to the point where the grain spills on the ground, and not allowing them to collect the spilled surplus, which they appropriate. Being the most important businessmen in the country, they impose corvées on the subjects in order to carry on their own business, and when the patience of the subjects is worn thin, the clash comes, causing the ruin of the monastery. Such were the conditions prevailing between the subjects and the monasteries in 1910–1920. The monasteries had in the end succeeded in maintaining a firm grip on their subjects, notwithstanding the aim of the regulations, decreed after the revolt of 1723, to withdraw them from the baneful influence of the monasteries.

[p.48(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 554 443

[p.49(B)]

products and animals for trading. All year long the silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks. 792 175 651 427

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the monastery. There was no need for them to go to the city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist. 175 633 792

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed. 175 792 571

The subjects were all on the same social level; there was no more question of nobles and commoners among them. They were all equally subject to taxes and corvées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the 175 565 792

[p.50(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

boundaries of their clan. They are invited in every clan indiscriminately, and even performed rites among Chinese and Tibetans outside the clans. 756

In some villages there are two or more shamans; in others only one, or none at all. The shamans are independent of each other and are not confederated in a guild. They have no chief to whom they are subjected, but all the shamans are enrolled as members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the Chinese city. The chief of that guild orders them to carry out in the city, in collaboration with them, the rites for saving the moon and the sun at the time of an eclipse. The chief of the guild is appointed by the Chinese officials for the patching up of quarrels among the shamans. In the event that a shaman breaks the rules of the guild, a letter from the chief of the guild to the prefect of the city is sufficient to put the shaman in jail. The shamans have to contribute also toward defraying the expenses of the guild. This fact, as has been noted, is really abnormal and infringes upon the rights of the T'u-ssu. It will be explained later. [648]

In comparing the actual social conditions of the shamans among the Monguors with those of the shamans among the Mongols in former times, it is manifest that shamanism has fallen into decay. "The forest clans often had at their head shaman magicians, who were reputed to have intercourse with the spirits. A shaman that was at the same time the leader of the clan or tribe, bore the title of 'Biki,' a title occasionally borne also by members of the steppe aristrocracy." [9] Shamans were, at that time, exempted from taxes and corvées. [651]

It may be that these ancient conditions account for the tradition, prevalent among the Monguors, that in former times each village had its own shaman and only one; that the temple of the village was administered by the shaman and used for the cult of the spirits of the village, by the villagers only. At present the temple is the property of the village and administered by the community, but still only the villagers are allowed to enter their own temple. There is no admittance for strangers.

WHAT IS A SHAMAN ACCORDING TO THE MONGUORS AND ETHNOLOGISTS?

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a

[9] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis khan*, 4, London, Routledge, 1930. See also Garma Sandschejew, Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Barjaten, *Anthropos* 23: 981, 1928; also S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Social organization of the Manchus*, Royal Asiatic Society North China Branch Extra Vol. 3: 13, 154, Shanghai, 1924. Also the same author, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus*, 344, 346, 347, London, Trubner, 1935. See also the basic difference existing between the shamans among the Monguors and among the Manchus and Tungus concerning relations with and the position of the shamans in the clan. See also Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source for the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

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of the fifth month and lasts for 108 days. During the whole period, two lamas at a time are always fasting (taking one meal a day), while the others are free to indulge in food, but during the 108 days the use of meat, garlic, leeks, and radishes is prohibited for all the lamas. Lamas of the Red Sect north of the Hsining River do not perform fasting in a group of their own sect, but always some among them attend the fasting rites practiced by laymen.

The fast of laymen is an interesting custom, the consequences of which have an important bearing on the formation of the Buddhist frame of mind of the people. The aim of the rite is the purification of sins and happy rebirth in the paradise of one of the Buddhas.

ORGANIZATION AND RULES

The rite is enacted in a group, in a few temples spread over the country, under the direction of a lama of the Yellow Sect, usually a Living Buddha or an old lama celebrated for his proficiency in oratory. At present the fasting exercises are only practiced in six localities, among which four are old Karwas (dating from the Ming period): Tsan-tsa, Pe-cha-erh-te, Marhtsang and Swor. The two others are Sumdo and T'u-kuan. The fasting exercises are never performed for laymen in monasteries. Each of the six groups has its committee which, long before the fixed time, tries to enroll fasters: Monguors, Tibetans, even Chinese, lamas of the Red Sect, men and women. In Sumdo the fasters usually number from twenty to eighty; in Pe-cha-erh-te from ten to thirty; in Marhtsang from ten to thirty; in Swor from twenty to seventy. In 1916 in Pe-cha-erh-te, I met seventeen fasters; in Marhtsang twenty-one. The Monguors of Wei-yüan-p'u and of the northern part of the Hung nai Valley are said to be the most fervent fasters. Always, a large number of men, even chiefs and elders of villages, attend the rite.

During the whole exercise, the fasters do not spend any money. The fast expenses are defrayed by the villagers of the locality where the exercises are held, and by the committee which has a small fund and collects some alms. To contribute to this rite is considered to be a very meritorious act. The day before the beginning of the fast, the chief of the village imposes corvées on some of the youngsters for the carrying of water, chopping of fuel, preparing cypress boughs, grinding flour, cooking, baking rolls and steaming bread, buying butter, tea, sugar, sweeping the floor. At Tsan tsa the fast starts on the fifteenth of the sixth month; at other places usually around the twenty-ninth of the third moon, and lasts for sixteen days. During the three days preceding the fast, the fasters are not allowed to eat garlic, leeks, radishes or meat, or to drink wine, or smoke tobacco, and continence is required.

The fasters arrive at night, drink tea, eat rolls baked in vegetable oil and go to rest. Men and women have separate rooms; they sleep on straw and cover them-

At that time the expansive country 40 li north of Hsining was inhabited by nomads and had no cities, villages, or farms. Only after the victory of the Manchus over the lamas and Tibetans in 1723 was colonization immediately started on a large scale, and the cities of Tat'ung and Mao Pei Shen were built.

West of Hsining, the *Annals* record in 1380 the submission of three tribes. The Si-na tribe lived 60 li west of Hsining on the northwest borders of the Hsining River. In its territory are tents, houses, and fortified villages. Its people practiced farming and cattle breeding. The tribe had a temple and a lama with the title of Kuo-shih (Master of the Kingdom), a silver seal, and an ivory stamp. The tribe numbered 500 families and was taxed 300 horses every year. It controlled the tribe called little Si-na which lived in Ku Shan, southeast of Nienpei, and it was taxed 30 horses. It also controlled the Ssu-ta-la-ma tribe and the Hsieh-erh-chih-kang temple, which were taxed 50 horses (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 8*b*).

The Chia-erh-chi tribe inhabited the territory situated north of the Si-na tribe. The part of the tribe living inside the wall lived in houses and fortified villages; the part living outside the wall practiced cattle breeding and lived in tents. At the time of disturbances caused by brigands they moved inside the wall. The chief of the tribe was a lama who had the title of Chih-hui. Every year the tribe was taxed 130 horses. The tribe controlled the Lung-pa tribe numbering 100 families which was taxed 150 horses.

In the region west of Hsining, stretching as far as 40 to 60 li, only farming, combined with cattle breeding, seems to have been practiced in 1380 by Tibetan tribes. After 1723 the region beyond was developed. The title of master of the kingdom was probably granted after the surrender of the tribe ruled by the lama. It was the policy during the Hung-wu and the whole Ming period to grant titles to lamas who induced tribes to surrender (Monguors II: 16). The title of Chih-hui borne by the chief is a title of the Ming time. The walls noted in the references were built only after 1546 (*Annals* of Hsining 13: 15). The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 seems to have mixed circumstances existing only after 1546 with those of 1380.

Still west of Hsining the nomad Shen-tsang tribe surrendered in 1380. It inhabited a territory situated near Kokonor. At the time of the invasion of the Mongols in 1509 and their occupation of Kokonor, the tribe disappeared (*Annals* of Hsining ?: 5*b*).

In the region of the southern mountains of Hsining, between Hsining and the Yellow River, stretching in an east-west direction as far as Lao Ya Ch'eng, three more tribes surrendered in 1380, all of them living near the northern borders of the Yellow River.

The Tsan-tsa tribe lived in tents and its territory was situated south of the present subprefecture of Nienpei (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 4*a*).

one entirely of Tibetans, four completely of Monguors, one entirely of Mohammedans originating from Liangchow, one entirely of Mohammedans from Ho Chou, three occupied by Chinese and Mohammedans together, two by Chinese and Tibetans together, four by Chinese and Monguors, and four by Chinese, Mohammedans and Tibetans (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 15*a–b*).

During these ninety years all these people had abandoned their original homes hoping to enjoy more peace in this lonely country. They had developed the country and made possible the building of the two cities of Tatung and Pe-ta. Before that time the northern valley of Hsining was cultivated only as far as the fortress of Hsin Ch'eng, situated 70 li north of Hsining, where a great wall marked the boundaries between Hsining and Kokonor.

In 1726 the newly appointed Governor of Kokonor, Ta Ting, started with a big retinue of officials and soldiers to visit all the Tibetan tribes of Huangchung, East Kansu, and Kokonor, depending upon the Khoshot princes and the lamas, taking the census of the people and the herds of each tribe, appointing in each tribe the chief they desired, notifying them that they depended from now on upon the Chinese officials. He fixed the tribute each tribe was to pay yearly, and informed them that all the taxes formerly paid to the princes and lamas, the *t'ien pa* tax, and the incense offering required yearly by the Dalai Lama in Lhasa were abolished. He allotted to each tribe a territory clearly defined, and handed it the deed officially sealed.

Now an idea can be had about the power of the princes of Kokonor. The governor had to travel as far at Tatung, Kuei Te, Ho Chou, and T'ao Chou in East Kansu, and to Chuang Lang and Liangchow where Tibetan tribes lived, depending upon the princes. The Khoshot Ku Shih-han in 1636 had conquered Kokonor and all the Tibetan tribes of that country, and those formerly dependent upon the Mongols, which later had fled far away from them. They pursued them as far as T'ao Chou and Ho Chou and so they became their subjects again. This had happened at the end of the Ming dynasty and during the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty when China could not care for these countries on account of the troubled conditions. However, Ku Shih-han had been recognized by the Manchu dynasty as chief of Kokonor. In 1642–1644 Ku Shih-han conquered Tibet and offered it to the Dalai Lama who immediately sent lamas to collect *t'ien pa* and incense offerings from the tribes, which normally had to pay a tax to the princes also. During these times the Khoshots had even been able to receive the submission of Tibetan tribes living as far as Cho Tze Shan, situated inside the prefecture of Chuang Lang, and of the tribes living in the mountains south of Ku Lang, Liangchow, and Yung Ch'ang. This gives an idea about the number of people and warriors they had been able to call to arms in 1723–1724 (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

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cessantly he exercised devotedness and zeal." Lu Fu, the second son of Lu Chien, had accompanied his father on the expeditions and had been named by the emperor "secretary commandant" of the city of Chuang Lang in 1519. The son of Lu Fu, Nen, died on the battlefield fighting Tibetans. His grandson was made "assistant commandant." His great-grandson died with the rank of second captain of the garrison of Hung Ch'eng. The group of the descendants of Lu Fu was one of the most prominent defenders of the Ming dynasty.

In 1648 the Mohammedan Milayin revolted in Kanchow. Lu P'ei-tso with his own army accompanied Lu Tien and other t'u-ssu to quell the revolt and recover the cities of Kanchow and Liangchow. He was given the original title of the family, that of "Assistant Commandant."

His descendants fought in 1723–1724 in Huangchung against the rebel Mongols of Kokonor. In 1781 they fought the Salar revolt and in 1784 the Yen Ch'a revolt of the Mohammedans.

During the whole Ch'ing dynasty the descendants of Lu P'ei-tso, in concert with Manchu and t'u-ssu troops of Huangchung and troops of seceders of the T'o Huan clan, quelled revolts and defended the country. Each in succession received the hereditary title of "Assistant Commandant" and an annual salary of 53.4 taels. The Lu P'ei-tso group lived in the country of Hsi Tat'ung and controlled the valleys of Ma Chuang and Yang Fang. It did not control subjects and had no regular soldiers but in time of war its chiefs called on the descendants of the Lu Fu group. It did not have to pay taxes to the Chinese government.[13]

SOCIAL STATUS OF CHIEFS OF GROUPS OF SECEDERS FROM THE CLAN

T'u-ssu are possessors of territories and subjects allotted to them by the emperor, and as beneficiaries of territories, and also the appointed defenders of them have the right to make legal claims against illegal appropriators of their territories. Since subjects are allocated to the t'u-ssu to provide them with defenders of their territories, each t'u-ssu is listed as having a fixed number of regular soldiers. A soldier is not allowed to abandon his chief, a Monguor is not allowed to abandon the t'u-ssu, and it is because the t'u-ssu has to equip his own troops that he is exempt from paying taxes.

By the same reasoning, one who, with his followers, secedes from his t'u-ssu is not legally entitled to either territory or subjects, and ought to be liable to prosecution. Even if he is not prosecuted, he and his group are not exempt from the payment of taxes, because he does not hold a recognized territory, with its attached duties and costs of defense.

[13] *Annals* of Kansu 42: 60a–b.

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